

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING NEWSPAPERS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED WEEKLY BY THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Abyss Before Us.

From the N. Y. Tribune. If it were possible that the American people should commit their destinies to the keeping of Horatio Seymour and Frank Blair, these consequences are inevitable.

I. The seizure of unbounded power over the Southern States by the Republicans. In stating this, we state but what they, through a thousand months, have already proclaimed. Not Frank Blair only, but nearly every talking "conservative" in the South, has assumed that the election of Seymour will be a popular verdict against the whole reconstruction policy of Congress, and especially against the right of the blacks to vote. They tell us that the election of Seymour and Blair will be a ratification of that plank of their Tammany platform which stigmatizes the reconstruction acts as "revolutionary, null, and void," and that they shall proceed to treat them accordingly. That is to say: They will treat the new State Governments as nullities, and proceed at once to replace them by what they call "White Men's Governments"—that is, governments based on their own good pleasure. That they will be resisted, and that bloodshed and anarchy will result, are inevitable.

II. Another result of Seymour's election will be the triumph of that sneaking, cowardly form of repudiation termed paying the First-twenties in greenbacks. We do not mean that this villainy will ultimately prevail; but its advocates will for the moment be uppermost, and will push it to the extent of debasing our currency so that it will have no definite value, and the property of the widow and orphan, now held in trust, will be rendered worthless. Knaves will pay their debts with ten to twenty cents on the dollar, and labor will be paid off in money that has little or no value. Ultimately, the holders of this scheme will strip its advocates of power, replacing them by champions of financial integrity; so the debt will at last be paid, but not until after it has changed hands to the loss of many timid or needy holders, and its repudiation will have wrought general bankruptcy and ruin.

III. The white Unionists will be hunted from the South as they were in the winter and spring of 1860-61. Many of them will be killed in the process, as they were on the former occasion. They (the Republicans) want to get up a free debate, says Clingman, of North Carolina, in the Senate, in December, 1867, "as the Senator from New York (Mr. Seward) expressed it in one of his speeches. But a Senator from Texas (Wigfall) told me the other day, that a great many of these free debaters were hanging from the trees of that country." Such was the Southern response to pacific overtures from the North after we had elected our President. It will be rougher than that if they should now elect their man. From every Southern stump, it is proclaimed that the "carpet-baggers" (Republicans from the North) and "scalawags" (white Republicans born in the South) will be run out of the moment they can be without fear of damaging Seymour's prospects. Should he be successful in November, the white Republicans in the South will be hunted over the Potomac and Ohio or into their graves, before Christmas.

IV. The blacks will generally be allowed to stay if they cringe enough and abjure the right of suffrage. A few of the leaders will be killed for example's sake; but the great mass will be simply reduced to the condition of beasts of burden and tolerated so long as they abide in it. If they rove sufficiently and keep their mouths shut, their lives will be spared.

V. But the whole business of black education will be arrested at once. The schools kept by whites will be burned; those kept by blacks will be peremptorily shut up. A negro seeking education for himself or his children will be regarded and treated as an incendiary. All that has been so nobly and well begun for the enlightenment and moral elevation of the freedmen will be stopped, and their education made a crime in fact if not also in law. Darkness will again settle upon the face of the land, and common schools, even for whites, either be forbidden or generally allowed to fall into disuse.

—Such are some of the inevitable results of Seymour's election, were that election possible. The condition of the South resulting from such a triumph would make angels weep and devils blush. It would be a victory of darkness—a jubilee of treason—a long stride towards chaos and primeval night. It is not possible that such a fate is in store for our fire-tried republic.

The Indictment Against the Republican Party.

From the N. Y. Times. The charges of corruption and misgovernment made by Democrats against the conduct of the Republican party may be summed up under these counts: (1) that the Republican party caused the war for the purpose of despotic domination; (2) that this party wasted the people's money by an unnecessary increase of the war debt; and (3) that its plan of reconstruction was adopted to perpetuate its own power.

In answer to the first charge, it is sufficient to reply that before its accession to power the Republican party incurred no responsibility for the conduct of national affairs. The attack upon Fort Sumter was in its preliminary stages of preparation before Lincoln's inauguration. Soon after his accession to power, the attack was precipitated, simply because he would not recognize the Confederate Government. At his inauguration President Lincoln had plainly shown that war, if it must come, would be forced upon the nation by the South; they must become the aggressors, otherwise there would be no conflict. The people knew then, and they still remember, what party was really responsible for the civil war. They knew then, and remember, how this war was threatened by the Democratic party as the inevitable consequence of its removal from power. It is not forgotten whence came the threat of war, or whence the first hostile blow. The Republicans—President and Congress—acted upon the defensive. They could not without treason, surrender the Government to insurgents. The party was successful in spite of the armed opposition of the South and the no less rebellious opposition of those Northern Democrats who sympathized with the South. Here, at least, there was no partisanship, no corruption. Nor do we find that partisanship entered into President Lincoln's administration in the conduct of either military or State affairs. He selected both in his Cabinet, and among his subordinate officers in the civil service a large number of those who had opposed his election. To this course he was moved not less by his own choice than by expediency. His was not a partisan administration. And it was a new thing in our political history. For a whole generation—indeed, ever since Andrew Jackson's term—there had been a general substitution of subordinate officers for the perpetuation of the power of the Democratic party. The failure of that party

in 1860 had been due to a division within itself, between sectional and national Democrats. President Lincoln recognized this fact, and in his appointments, both for the army and the civil service, he appealed for support no less to national Democrats than to Republicans. Thus a system of corruption which had lasted for thirty years was completely broken up. It is true that some Democratic Generals, like McClellan and McDermott, were superseded in the course of the war, but they certainly received prominent positions and were allowed a fair trial.

And when Lincoln's administration had nearly run its course and the Republican Convention met in 1864 to nominate candidates for another term, what course was pursued? Lincoln was nominated for President; nobody else would have been accepted by the people, for it was his name that was the nation's choice and hope. But in the nomination for Vice President, an important (but by no means necessary) concession was made to National Democrats by the choice of Andrew Johnson. Johnson was elected with Lincoln, and soon, by accident, he became President, and here began a complicated series of difficulties. From its very liberality the Republican party was placed in an exceedingly embarrassing position. Scarcely had the Thirty-ninth Congress (elected with Lincoln and Johnson), assembled in its first session before it was compelled to join issues with this accidental President. In its work of reconstruction, this Congress had to oppose a defiant South, a recreant President, and that party in the North which had sympathized with the Rebellion. No previous Congress had ever been placed in so unfortunate a situation, and at so eventful a crisis. Its moderate measures for a restoration of the country—incorporated in the Fourteenth Amendment—were refused by the party most immediately interested—the Southern States. Then by an absolute necessity, military governments and negro suffrage were resorted to as the only means of extrication from a difficulty which threatened the peace of the nation.

With what impudence then does the Democratic party make the charge against Congress that it adopted its final plan of Reconstruction from partisan motives! Suppose the Republican party succeeded in its scheme of Southern restoration, how is it to gain anything for itself as a party? The moment restoration is accomplished beyond dispute, other questions will arise than those which now occupy the attention. Upon these questions—in the Southern States, there will be no essential difference of opinion between the positions taken by white and black voters. Upon these questions the blacks as surely as the whites will vote as the interests of their section dictate; and this fact was anticipated by leading Republican Congressmen who advocated negro suffrage. The charge of extravagance and waste rests upon no better authority than Governor Seymour's speeches; and the charge made by the latter was fully refuted by a statement made by Mr. Blaine in Congress shortly afterwards, showing that the money appropriated by Congress, after deducting the payment to soldiers and sailors mustered out in 1865, did not involve a larger amount of expenses per regiment than was appropriated during Buchanan's term, notwithstanding the latter was estimated upon a gold basis. The expenses of the Freedmen's Bureau have been estimated in the same extravagant manner by Democratic orators, in the face of facts officially stated that completely refuted them.

Threats of Southern Democrats.

From the N. Y. Evening Post. The Alabama Legislature has just passed an act repealing all disfranchising enactments. The Georgia Legislature is about to do the same thing. The Tennessee Legislature will doubtless follow the example when it meets in regular session. We hope all the other Southern Legislatures will in like manner make the suffrage impartial. We have constantly advised this as the true policy for peace.

But it must be confessed that the men now disfranchised do not offer many temptations to the present voters to be liberal. Everywhere they deal only in threats; they declare openly that if they regain the vote, they will use their political power first and foremost to disfranchise men who now possess votes. Under the circumstances, the men who now possess the political power in these States cannot be blamed, if they hesitate before repealing the disabilities of those who thus threaten them. It is a pity that the Southern Democratic leaders have not a little more common sense. They are now what a Western man would call "the under dog;" they desire to regain the political citizenship which they flung away some years ago. But they make their wishes known only by threats against the men who now vote against them. The men who now vote for the Democrats confess that if they can get the power they will disfranchise the greater part of the Republican voters, but they even go further. Wade Hampton, in South Carolina, says:—"Those who are not for us are against us, and if they cast their destiny with the radicals, to them and not to us must be ascribed all the blame of the present contracts should be in good faith, but let us not employ in the future any one, white or black, who gives his aid to the radicals. If we pursue this policy firmly, if we devote ourselves to the great work before us, with earnestness, we can carry South Carolina for Seymour and Blair."

This is the way he urges the employers, the capitalists of the State, to coerce the working men and force them to vote against their own interests, on penalty of starting their families. The Mobile Tribune, a Democratic organ, says:—"We must break up the loyal leagues, and to do that it is only necessary that the negroes should be properly instructed. Point out to the negroes the way they should go. Tell them that the carpet-baggers in the Legislature are the veriest scoundrels thrown up by the boiling cauldron of the late revolution; warn them that they are engaged in political villainies on the part of plunder, and they will surely aid you in driving the unprincipled wretches from the State."

This kind of language is heard all over the Southern States; and these are the persuasive means employed by Southern Democratic leaders to prove to the present voters the perfect safety and advisability of removing all restrictions and penalties for rebellion.

The Radicals and the People—Prospects for the Presidency.

From the N. Y. Herald. Oregon is normally a Republican State, but this year it has gone completely over to the Democrats. In the previous election it had about its usual Republican majority, giving that decision on political issues that is natural with a population applied in a great degree from regions having the most active sympathy with the radical spirit; yet this year it gives an unmistakable definite majority to the other side. This is a very significant fact in an election in such a State, coming immediately after the party with which it usually acts has put its Presidential candidates in the field. Kentucky is another State whose people have recently given formal expression to their political predilections. The election in this State has taken place since the naming of the Presidential candidates on both sides, and Kentucky not only goes for the Democrats—we should expect that—but it goes their way by such an overwhelming majority as indicates that other political opinions have hardly force enough there to keep themselves alive. Here, then, are two States that have gone to the Democrats after these people have been able to

perceive the drift of Presidential movements. One is an old slave State, not, however, the most fiercely Democratic of the slave States, even in the old times, a State that did not nominally go with the South in the war but had its sympathies that way, yet was thought to be strong enough organized to do better for the Republicans than in previous years. The other is a free Northern State, peopled by that sort of community that our political history shows is always the readiest to be aggressive, to take the side of any party that calls itself the party of progress, and that is naturally much less susceptible of conservative influences than older communities.

From these facts of the situation it is evident that the popular impulse against the radicals, which began two years ago, and seemed to culminate in the fifty thousand majority against that party in the Empire State, has yet lost none of its momentum. It had deeper than most men thought. It had fast held upon the ultimate convictions of each man, and thus became the positive purpose of the mass, and it is doubtful if there is any power to stop its progress. The nominations have had no effect upon it. The sudden recognition of the radicals' error had gone so far in their assaults on everything dear to the people, and their consequent halt, came too late. The promise of honest government that they make in presenting the name of Grant, the assurance that their future views of national necessities shall be taken from the standpoint of the commander who saved the country—all this is quite unheeded. So is the threat from the other side, given with the name of Seymour, that everything shall be construed in favor of the men who endeavor to break the government. The popular impulse goes forward blind to all, conscious only of its stored-up determination. Individuals are nothing. There is no charm in any name. The contest of great principles must be carried to its final result. Such is the popular temper. Only the deepest sense of the outrages against the country and its laws, as well as against humanity practised by the radical leaders, could have brought the people to this mood and wrought the conviction that no other danger is so great as that party to continue in power. Perhaps, also, there is another thought active in the case. There is a widespread uneasiness under the burden of taxation imposed by the debt; and though both parties tend towards repudiation, the people will have their revenge on the men who made the debt, and who therefore put the country in position to require repudiation. Revolutions always repudiate the debts of civil war. Such repudiation is the basis of compromise, for neither side nor the other will consent to repay money borrowed to put it down. Repudiation is, then, very likely the ultimate outcome of this impulse against the Republicans, and we shall yet see a Congress elected strictly to repudiate the debt. In the meantime the same impulse must act consistently in sweeping Republicanism from power at all intermediate points, of which the Presidency is a very important one.

It seems consistent with all the facts, therefore, that the reaction against the radical legislation and reconstruction shall go on as it began, sweeping State after State, and finally sweeping the nation and giving us another President like Pierce—only instead of poor Pierce it will be silly Seymour. Regarding the characters of the two candidates, it readily occurs that the parties have respectively got the wrong men. Seymour is the creature who should be the head of the radicals, the useful tool to be used as Pierce was used by the Southern radicals, into whose hands he fell—and Grant should stand at the head of the advancing Democracy, to wreak its relentless will against radical power. But taking the men as they are and the situation as it is, we can only hope that to whichever side victory inclines it will give no doubtful voice. Let the decision be positive—on one side or the other—therein is our only safety. From an election that either one side or the other can by any ingenuity dispute we will have a civil war. Some of the Southern States are preparing this possibility in making laws to take the vote for President from Democratic communities and give it to radical Legislatures. Should the Republican candidate be elected only in virtue of these manoeuvres it will take another war to put down the protest against him. Should the election turn on any one of those contingent passages, we will be away from the party, and therefore, it is to be hoped the Northern people themselves will make the decision absolute.

The Senate the Government.

From the Boston Post. The glaring iniquity of the method chosen by the radicals in Congress for recruiting the Senate, is exposed in the letter of Governor Seymour in the most impressive manner. It is because he does these very things with so much boldness and audacity, that the men who the Greeley school of radicals have chosen, with such a perfect hatred. Jefferson was denounced high and low in his time, and it was because he had a cool, philosophic, and masterly way of putting things that excited hatred because he could not be successfully answered. And of all the passages in Governor Seymour's felicitous letter of acceptance, none seems to stir radical hostility quite so visibly as that containing his calm and patriotic appeal to the reasonable men of the Republican party, to abandon the mad leaders whom they have vainly sought to restrain.

The Tribune makes the bullying boast that even if the people do elect a Democratic House of Representatives and a Democratic Executive they will be helpless, and could not "carry out their wishes" except by inaugurating revolution. That is to say, the Senate is to be the Government! No more distribution of powers. No more balancing of one branch of Government against the other. Because radicalism shall have been driven to its last hope and hole, therefore one branch of Congress, not radical shall no longer "carry out the wishes of its constituents," and an integral branch of the Government shall be powerless. "The servant of the Senate," unless both from the same Tribune that shouts from year to year for larger popular rights, and professes to be sensitively jealous of the encroachments of all forms of power.

It becomes us, then, to look carefully into the character and composition of the Senate which the radical leaders thus propose to set up as the Government. In the first place, it is no strict representative of the people, and never was. It stands only for the integral States which together make up the Union. The symbol of State rights and State integrity. And it is such a body that is to be set up as the essence and authority of our republican system, by men whose habit, it is almost daily to scoff at the idea of the States having any individual rights, and to denounce those who consistently maintain the doctrine as secessionists and advocates of disunion. Like all hypocrites, these radical leaders are driven by stress of circumstances to take refuge in the very doctrine, improperly applied, which they have been so voluble and vicious in condemning.

This Senate Government which is proposed to be the law source of authority, and to be elected by the people directly, as the House and the President are, but by the State Leg-

islatures. More than that, it was not chosen with any reference to the "living question" which now press on the attention of the country, and which radicalism once professed itself anxious to grapple with. Further still, it is recently recruited by men chosen by Legislatures without a bona fide constituency—chosen, in fact, by Congress itself, the Senate bearing its part. And the new recruits come from States which they openly confess to be as yet unable to sustain their own local governments, and for which they beseech of Congress the continuance of military aid. As Governor Seymour pointedly remarks in his letter—"These men are to make laws for the North as well as the South." And he adds with startling truthfulness, that as soon as all the Southern States shall have their Senators counted in after this fashion "they will have more power in the Senate than a majority of the people of this Union, living in nine of the great States!"

Now it is bad enough, in the name of justice and equal government, that a handful of men, without a substantial constituency, should possess such a monstrously disproportionate share of power in comparison with the same number of Senators who represent nine of our largest and most populous Northern States. This gross inequality in the Senate merits the severest reprehension of all truly republican statesmen. But when we come to consider that this same handful, holding so large a share of power are boasted of by the Tribune and its radical followers as in great part the Government itself, which may defy the people's representatives in the House and the people's elected Magistrate in the Executive chair—we realize with much greater force to what a depth of degradation radicalism is striving to sink our republican system, and to what a state of anarchy it would reduce the intelligent and still independent popular will. There is but one way of safety, and but one mode of redemption. The people yet have it in their hands. How long they will retain it, it is for themselves alone to say.

The Dying Speech and Confession of the Radicals.

From the N. Y. World. "The Alabama Legislature has just passed an act repealing all disfranchising enactments. The Georgia Legislature is about to do the same thing. The Tennessee Legislature will doubtless follow the example when it meets in regular session. We hope all the other Southern Legislatures will in like manner make the suffrage impartial. We have constantly advised this as the true policy for peace. But it must be confessed that the men now disfranchised do not offer many temptations to the present voters to be liberal. Everywhere they deal only in threats; they declare openly that if they regain the vote, they will use their political power first and foremost to disfranchise men who now possess votes. Under the circumstances, the men who now possess the political power in these States cannot be blamed, if they hesitate before repealing the disabilities of those who thus threaten them."

The Legislature, after due consideration, has passed an act removing all disfranchising enactments. The Georgia Legislature is about to do the same thing. The Tennessee Legislature will doubtless follow the example when it meets in regular session. We hope all the other Southern Legislatures will in like manner make the suffrage impartial. We have constantly advised this as the true policy for peace. But it must be confessed that the men now disfranchised do not offer many temptations to the present voters to be liberal. Everywhere they deal only in threats; they declare openly that if they regain the vote, they will use their political power first and foremost to disfranchise men who now possess votes. Under the circumstances, the men who now possess the political power in these States cannot be blamed, if they hesitate before repealing the disabilities of those who thus threaten them."

Nothing of a death-bed repentance to the conscience which is aroused by the terrors of such a situation nevertheless takes a juster view of the misdeeds of the departing sinner than he ever acknowledged in the vigor of health and hope. The Republican party is in that distressing situation, and is trying the effects of a too tardy repentance of things which it committed without compunction when it thought it had a strong hold upon life. The foregoing paragraphs commenting on and commending the action of the Alabama Legislature in removing political disabilities from white citizens, and a complete acknowledgment of the disabilities which ought not to have been imposed. For, what is the grand on which the disfranchisement has been defended?

Why, that the Southern leaders were so disaffected and disloyal that they could not be safely trusted to exercise political rights. If the reason was good, the disabilities should have been continued until there was evidence of a better state of mind. But the radical organs daily declare that the Rebel leaders are growing constantly worse and worse—that their attitude is bolder, more reckless, more conscious, and defiant, at the present time than it has been before since the close of the war. And yet this is the time selected for the removal of the disabilities so often declared to be an indispensable precaution against Rebel influence! If the current radical accounts of the Southern temper are correct, this precaution was never so necessary as at this moment. Bitter disfranchisement and disabilities were never necessary, or it is absurd to remove them now—that is, if there be any truth in the radical representations of the present condition of the Southern mind. Their sudden removal, so soon after they were imposed, is an entire confession that one of the main pillars of the radical policy was rotten from the beginning.

The Tribune's enunciations on the liberality of the Alabama Legislature are preposterous. The carpet-bag Legislatures are mere puppets of the Northern radicals. The disabilities are removed because the Republican leaders have become frightened. They dare not encounter the judgment of the people upon their policy in all its hideous deformity. The pretended removal of restrictions is a piece of insulting hypocrisy. It is managed in such a way that the enfranchised whites shall take no part in the Presidential election. The same Legislature has passed an act providing that the Presidential electors shall be chosen by itself, and not by a popular vote. By this disgraceful swindle the State is made sure for Grant and Colfax. Instead of enfranchising the Rebel leaders, that infamous Legislature has disfranchised the whole body of citizens. By giving the choice of Presidential electors to the Legislature, the pretended boon is converted into a mockery. The only practical effect it is expected or intended to have is to reconcile the Northern people to the carpet-bag governments by a false and deceitful exercise of liberality.

If the disabilities were to be so soon removed, why were they ever imposed? But a few months have elapsed since the State Constitution was formed, and nothing has since occurred within the State which has essentially changed the posture of affairs, or can justify a new policy. Either the Legislature is wrong or the constitutional convention was wrong. A party stifles itself, it makes itself ridiculous, by such a sudden and complete abandonment of a policy which it so lately and so deliberately adopted. But, after all, it maintains a kind of consistency; it is consistently rickish and perfidious; it consistently pursues party ends at the expense

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of the public tranquility. It disfranchised white citizens to enable it to elect a radical legislature; it then pretends to enfranchise them, and devolves the choice of Presidential electors upon the Legislature. Such action is a bundle of concessions. It confesses, in the first place, that the radicals cannot carry the State for Grant by a popular vote, even with a large number of the whites disfranchised. It confesses that disfranchisement was a mere party manoeuvre, not founded on any sound reasons of public policy; for the reasons assigned are much stronger now (by the showing of the radicals themselves) than at the time the disfranchisement was adopted. The sudden danger is a confession that the assigned reasons were hypocritical pretences. It is also a confession that the Republicans had have serious misgivings as to their ability to carry the Northern States, and that they need to let down, or rather to smooth over and disguise the proscription and intolerance which they have hitherto practised. It is but a few days since the Tribune tried to shift the issue from the Reconstruction acts to the new Constitutional Amendment. There is now a further advance in the same direction—a confession that one of the leading features of the amendment itself is wrong and impolitic. What rendered that Amendment particularly odious and caused its unhesitating rejection by the South, when it was first presented, was its disfranchisement of the Southern leaders. To abandon it now, is to confess that it ought never to have been adopted. The Republican party pretends to take the back track, because it has been overtaken by alarm and terror at the rapidly growing strength of the Democratic candidates. It is a death-bed repentance—as sincere as repentance in full view of the grave commonly is, but of a kind that would be itself as suddenly repented of, if the terrified sinners should regain their hopes of life.

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STEVENSDALE INSTITUTE, BOARDING SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES. Terms—Board, Tuition, etc.—per scholastic year, \$100 NO EXTRAS. Circulars at Messrs. Fairbanks & Waring's, No. 718 CHESNUT Street; also at Messrs. T. B. Peterson & Brothers', No. 86 CHESNUT Street. Address, personally or by note, FOSTER BROWNE, Principal, 19 S. Third St. South Amboy, N. J. CHESNUT STREET FEMALE SEMINARY, PHILADELPHIA. Miss BONEY and Miss DILLAY will receive their Boarding and Day Scholars (Thirty-seventh Street) September 1st, at No. 1213 Chesnut Street. Particulars from circulars. (S1 Imp)